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Paul L. Puryear

THE MEASUREMENT OF MANPOWER POLICY IMPACTS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY: INCOME MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

IN RECENT YEARS, A NUMBER of scholars have commented on the tendency of contemporary political scientists to focus their studies of public policy on policy “processes” to the neglect of the study of the consequences of policy for target groups, the economy, the politico-governmental structure, and society at large.¹ With few exceptions, process studies analyze the determinants of public policy utilizing policy content as the dependent variable. Particular policy outputs are then viewed as the results of the operation of specified independent variables interacting within the political system.² While such studies contribute enormously to the development of theories and testable hypotheses about important segments of the political system, they offer little insight into the ultimate impact of system outputs on the individuals and groups affected by governmental policy.

Oddly enough, this general neglect of the scholarly study of the consequences of public policy has met with similar indifference by governmental administrators responsible for implementing policies. In a study of four agencies administering 15 federal programs, Wholey found that little systematic evaluation of policy impact was attempted in most of the programs. Such studies as existed were delimited by time, place, and conceptual design, and did not allow meaningful comparisons.³ This paper reports on a segment of the research the author is conducting on the impact of federal manpower policy on black communities in three Southern cities and one rural county. While the paper analyzes a group of selected impact variables for a single city, it will hopefully be suggestive of how political scientists and empirically oriented public administrators can conceptualize the study of public policy outcomes.

Background

Federal programs for the development and utilization of manpower date back at least to the 1930's when it became apparent that structural imbalances in the economic system tended to create cyclical unemployment and underemployment.⁴ With 25 percent of the labor force unemployed at the peak of the Depression, Congress enacted extensive legislation to provide work relief programs for the jobless. Following World War II, with the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, Congress expressly asserted the federal government's obligation to create and maintain "conditions under which there will be useful employment opportunities for those seeking work. . . ."⁵ While the Act was primarily a response to widespread apprehension over the economic effects of the rapid demobilization of military and industrial personnel after World War II, within less than two decades it was apparent that the human resource development capability of the nation had not kept pace with fundamental changes in labor market institutions. The rapid automation of production and materials-handling processes in the 1950's, coupled with expansion in the service industries, created concomitant demands for more highly skilled manpower. This structural incongruity in the social system, together with the lag in economic growth, accounted for the sharp rise in unemployment between 1957 and 1962, and signaled the need for a more aggressive federal manpower policy.

Table I

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR ADULTS AND TEENAGERS BY RACE, 1961-1969

Color, Sex and Age	1961	1969	Percent Change 1961-1969
WHITES	6.0	3.1	-48.3
Men, 20 years and over	5.1	1.9	-62.7
Women, 20 years and over	5.7	3.4	-40.4
Teenagers, 16 to 19 years	15.3	10.7	-30.1
Boys	15.7	10.1	-35.7
Girls	14.8	11.5	-22.3
BLACKS	12.4	6.4	-48.4
Men, 20 years and over	11.7	3.7	-68.4
Women, 20 years and over	10.6	5.8	-45.3
Teenagers, 16 to 19 years	27.6	24.0	-13.0
Boys	26.8	21.3	-20.5
Girls	29.2	27.7	-5.1

Source: *Manpower Report of the President*, 1970, p. 90.

Aside from the need to cope with the social effects of the trend toward structural realignment in the labor market, there was also the need to meet the special problems of racial minorities in securing better jobs at higher wages. Long deprived of equal educational opportunities and victimized by racial discrimination, blacks suffer disproportionately from the cyclical decline in employment levels. Moreover, time series data indicate that, irrespective of cyclical fluctuations in the labor market, residual unemployment among blacks tends to be twice as high as for whites. In 1961 the rate was 6.0 for whites and 12.4 for blacks. By 1969, overall rates of unemployment had dropped, but the rate for blacks was still more than twice as high (3.1 and 6.4). Since 1969, unemployment has begun to rise again with the white-black differentials altering only slightly.⁶ Table I presents unemployment data for blacks and whites by sex and age in 1961 and 1969, the period most relevant for this study.

While the data above, and careful studies by Parnes et al.,⁷ sustained the view that there are few aspects of labor market experience in which pronounced differences between whites and blacks do not exist, there were growing signs that blacks in some categories were achieving measurable occupational mobility. More than three-fifths of the increase in black employment between 1961 and 1969 was in professional, other white collar, and skilled occupations. There was also a substantial rise in operative jobs. Yet, despite these encouraging trends, the percentage of blacks in nonfarm laborer jobs still remained virtually unchanged.⁸ Moreover, as Table II indicates, wide gaps still existed in white-black total percentages in the more lucrative job categories.

While a variety of federal programs were authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the persistence of pockets of hard-core unemployment, particularly among blacks, led in 1967 to the creation of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), an effort by the U.S. Department of Labor to integrate and deliver a variety of manpower training and supportive services to ghetto communities.

The CEP program sought to cope with the problems of chronically unemployed black workers at two levels: first, to remove barriers to retraining by providing a variety of social services to trainees including child care, transportation, counseling, medical services, and living allowances; and second, to enhance future employment opportunities of trainees through work orientation, vocational assessment, basic education, specialized training, and job placement. The stated goals of the program were to stabilize black employment in the target areas and

Table II
EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER, BY COLOR AND OCCUPATION GROUP, 1968-69
(Numbers in thousands)

Color and occupation group	1968		1969		Percent change, 1968-69
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	
WHITE					
Total	67,751	100.0	69,518	100.0	2.6
White-collar workers	33,561	49.5	34,647	49.8	3.2
Professional and technical workers	9,685	14.3	10,074	14.5	4.0
Managers, officials, and proprietors	7,551	11.1	7,733	11.1	2.4
Clerical workers	11,836	17.5	12,314	17.7	4.0
Sales workers	4,489	6.6	4,527	6.5	.8
Blue-collar workers	24,063	35.5	24,647	35.5	2.4
Craftsmen and foremen	9,359	13.8	9,484	13.6	1.3
Operatives	12,023	17.7	12,368	17.8	2.9
Nonfarm laborers	2,681	4.0	2,795	4.0	4.3
Private household workers	947	1.4	917	1.3	-3.2
Service workers, except private household	6,118	9.0	6,372	9.2	4.2
Farmworkers	3,062	4.5	2,935	4.2	-4.1

NEGRO AND OTHER RACES

Total	8,169	100.0	8,384	100.0	2.6
White-collar workers	1,991	24.4	2,197	26.2	10.3
Professional and technical workers	641	7.8	695	8.3	8.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors	225	2.8	254	3.0	12.9
Clerical workers	967	11.8	1,083	12.9	12.0
Sales workers	158	1.9	166	2.0	5.2
Blue-collar workers	3,462	42.4	3,591	42.8	3.7
Craftsmen and foremen	656	8.0	709	8.5	8.1
Operatives	1,932	23.6	2,004	23.9	3.7
Nonfarm laborers	874	10.7	877	10.5	.3
Private household workers	777	9.5	714	8.5	-8.1
Service workers, except private household	1,538	18.8	1,525	18.2	-.8
Farmworkers	403	4.9	356	4.2	-11.7

Source: *Manpower Report of the President*, 1970, p. 90.

promote income and occupational mobility.⁹ Yet, despite substantial outlays of public funds (\$495 million in fiscal 1969 alone), little of a comprehensive nature is known about the consequences of the program for individuals in black communities. This paper endeavors to develop a general measurement design for the analysis of the impact of manpower development policy, and to analyze selected elements in the design in one Southern city which, for reasons of confidentiality, shall be known as Metro City.

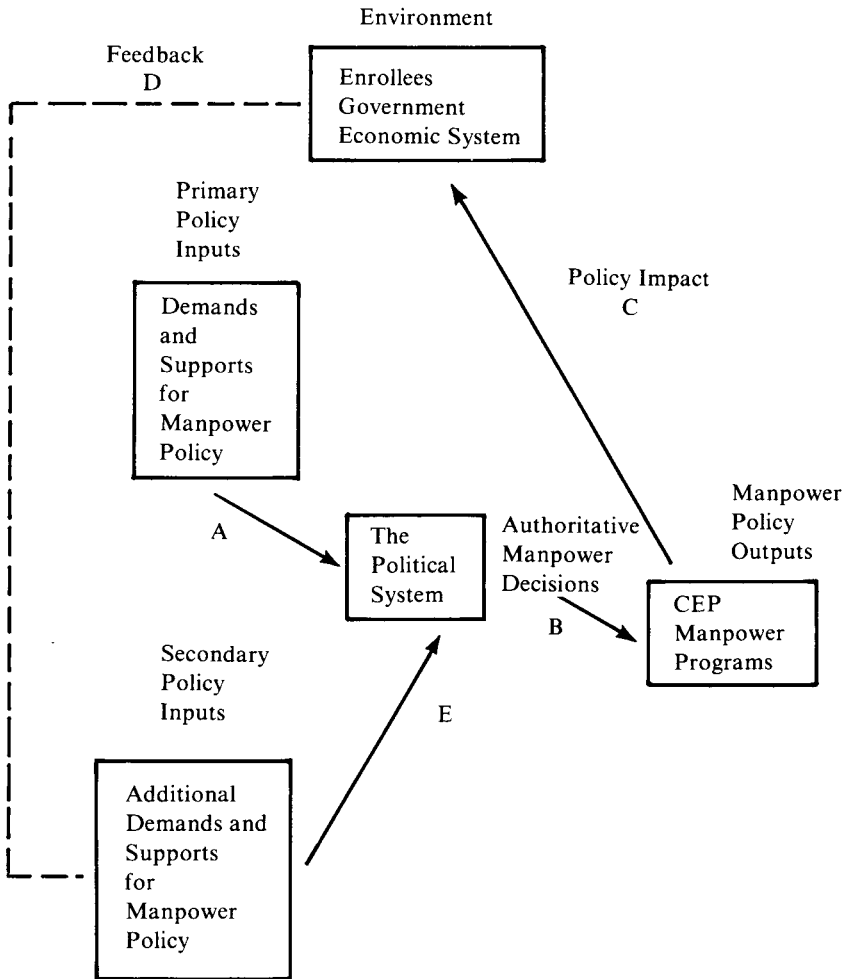
Conceptual Framework

Since this paper reports on a phase of a longer-range study of manpower policy, it is useful to present a full explication of the theoretical framework for the full study although only selected aspects of the contemplated analysis are presented here. Looked at broadly, this research employs some aspects of political systems theory as developed by Easton and others.¹⁰ While Easton presents a comprehensive model for explaining the development and consequences of public policy decisions in society, this study focuses only on those elements in the model which relate to policy "impact" and "feedback" phenomena. Treating manpower policy as an independent variable, this study will measure its effects on the black population, and at various levels in the social and political structure. The conceptual model which is employed is presented below.

Although traditionally political scientists have devoted primary attention to an analysis of the determinants of public policy, in this model the emphasis is upon the assessment of the impact and consequences of manpower policy on target populations (black communities), and on the social and political system. Linkages A and B in the model denote the interaction between the social and governmental system in the development of a legal framework for manpower policy. The analysis of these linkages falls outside the purview of this paper and the larger study. Linkage C indicates the relationship between manpower program factors and ultimate impact on specified environmental elements. And linkages D and E delineate the consequences of manpower policy impact for the development of secondary policy inputs in the form of additional demands on, or support for, the governmental system.

Conceptually, this research also relies upon some of the theoretical work of James S. Coleman, particularly his theory of social change.¹¹ Borrowing from Coleman, this study assumes that the status mobility of individuals and groups in society is a function of their capacity to

MANPOWER POLICY IMPACT MODEL



translate individual resources (jobs, money, goods and services, etc.) into social assets which trigger a cycle of recurring benefits fostering social mobility. The CEP training program, therefore, was deemed to have a “conversion potential” which could provide a mobility path to higher income and occupational status which presumably could be translated into personal and generational changes of measurable quantity.

Methodology

This paper presents the preliminary findings from a study of the impact of the Concentrated Employment Program on blacks in Metro City, a Southern community of approximately 500,000 population, 37 percent of whom are black. For purposes of this and subsequent analyses, a distinction is made between those manpower policy impacts which have exclusive effect on the target population (personal impact variables), and those which have primarily environmental consequences (social impact variables). While the overall study analyzes a variety of personal and social impact variables, this paper measures policy-related changes for two personal impact variables (income change and occupational mobility).¹² The control variables include sex, age, education, income, marital status, and number of dependents.

Nature of the Population

The data on which this paper is based were taken, in part, from the CEP files of the 981 individuals enrolled in the CEP program in Metro City during 1970. Of this number, approximately 98 percent were black, and two-thirds were male. The age of enrollees generally ranged between 19 and 44: one-third were between 19 and 21, and half were between 22 and 44. Over 100 (12 percent) were 18 or younger.

A sizeable percentage of the enrollee population was relatively well educated. While few (10 percent) had received less than a ninth grade education, 43 percent were high school graduates, and 12 percent had received some post-high school training. Consequently, almost half the enrollee population (47 percent) had at least a high school education.

A sizeable percentage of the enrollees were either single or divorced. While about three in ten were married, approximately 65 percent were unattached. Almost half (47 percent) had no dependents, and one-third had one or two dependents. Only one-fifth reported three or more dependents. Tables III and IV present demographic data by race, sex, age, education, and marital status for CEP enrollees.

The relationships between family role status and the financial responsibility of enrollees was graphically revealed by the social background data. Fifty-five percent of the enrollees were classified as heads of households, and two-thirds as primary wage earners. Yet the level of income earned by enrollees at the time they entered the manpower program was generally low. Three-fourths of the enrollees were earning \$2,000 per annum or less: 35 percent were receiving between \$1,001 and \$2,000, and four out of ten were earning less than \$1,000 annually. Only 12 percent were at or above the poverty line.¹³ Indeed, 70 percent of the

Table III
CHARACTERISTICS OF CEP ENROLLEES IN METRO CITY
BY RACE, SEX AND AGE

Race		Sex		Age					
Black	White	Male	Female	-19	19-21	22-44	45-54	55-64	65 & over
97.8%	1.5	64.7	35.0	11.7	32.3	50.6	3.5	1.5	.10

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Table IV
CHARACTERISTICS OF CEP ENROLLEES IN METRO CITY
BY EDUCATION, MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

Education						Marital Status				Dependents						
-5	5-7	8	9-11	12	12+	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	0	1	2	3	4	5	6+
1.5%	2.8	5.6	43.1	35.0	11.8	52.0	31.1	1.3	15.0	46.5	19.6	14.5	9.6	4.1	1.8	3.0

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Table V
ROLE STATUS, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME FOR CEP ENROLLEES IN METRO CITY

Role Status									
Head of Household	Primary Wage Earner	Annual Wage at Enrollment	Poverty Level Group	Current Labor Force Status	Weeks Unemployed				
Pctg.	Pctg.	Wage	Pctg.	Group	Pctg.	Status	Pctg.	Weeks	Pctg.
445.	64.6	\$0-\$1000	41.0	On or Above Poverty Line	11.5	Employed	1.1	0	9.2
						Underemployed	8.9	1-4	15.2
		\$1001-\$2000	35.0			Unemployed	89.3	5-8	8.5
				\$1-\$499 Below	17.4	Family Farm Worker	.2	9-12	9.8
		\$2002-\$3000	12.0			In School	.1	13-16	6.5
				\$500-\$1499 Below	34.0	Not in Labor Force	.2	17-20	7.8
		\$3001-\$4000	3.0					21-24	5.6
								25-32	11.6
		\$4001-\$5000	1.0	\$1500 or more Below	35.6			33-40	6.8
								40+	17.8
		\$5001-\$6000	.4						
		\$6001+	7.0						

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

respondents were from \$500 to \$1,499 below that level. Aside from low rates of earnings, these income data undoubtedly reflect the fact that 89 percent of the respondent population was unemployed at the time of enrollment. Moreover, of the 10 percent employed, 9 percent were classified as underemployed.

Not only were the enrollees generally beset by low income and high employment, but the period of unemployment during the preceding twelve months tended to be long. Fully 37 percent had been unemployed for over 24 weeks during the year. Yet only a small fraction (2.5 percent) were recipients of public welfare at the time of enrollment.¹⁴ Table V presents data on family role status, employment and income.

Income Mobility

Given the low levels of employment and earnings of the CEP enrollees, one of the crucial variables for measuring the impact of the program on the target population is the degree to which it fostered income mobility. For a sizeable segment of those who initially enrolled in the training program, no conclusion can be drawn concerning the impact of the training process. Of a total of 981 trainees, 118 (12 percent) were still enrolled at the end of the training cycle. Another 397 (46 percent) either dropped out of the program or terminated for personal reasons. Even excluding those who continued in training, this considerable shortfall suggests that attrition in the training of the hard-core black poor is likely to be high. Nevertheless, it is possible to measure the effect of training on income for the 336 enrollees who completed training during 1970 and secured a job.¹⁵

As was indicated in the preceding section, a sizeable segment of the enrollee population had been frequently unemployed and the annual wage on the last full-time job tended to be \$2,000 or less for the typical worker. When the general level of wages before training is compared with post-training wages, considerable upward mobility can be noted. At entrance to the training program, the annual wage levels of enrollees was heavily skewed toward the lower ranges of the income ladder. Approximately 76 percent had annual incomes below \$2,000, and only 1 percent were above \$4,000. After training had been completed, the number of trainees earning \$2,000 or less declined sharply. Less than 1 percent remained in this income category, while approximately 41 percent had incomes of \$4,000 or above. Table VI presents these data.

When controls are introduced for age, sex, marital status, education, income, and number of dependents, additional conclusions can be drawn with respect to income changes among CEP enrollees. At entry

to the program, the annual income of trainees was heavily influenced by age. Almost 58 percent of the enrollees under 19 years of age had annual incomes of less than \$1,000 while only about 26 percent of those between ages 22-44 had incomes this low. The median entry-level income for all age groups was \$1,300.

When comparisons are made with income data at termination, the age group 22-44 continues to earn the highest salaries. While the median annual wage of this group was approximately \$1,500 at time of entry, it was \$4,000 at termination. Nonetheless, the most striking differences between pre-training and post-training income were registered by the two youngest age groups: those under 19 and those 19-21. While the entry level wage had been \$900 and \$1,000 for these groups, the median wage rose to \$3,700 and \$3,800 respectively.

Table VI
ANNUAL INCOME OF CEP ENROLLEES BEFORE
AND AFTER TRAINING

Before Training		After Training	
Income	Percent	Income	Percent
0-\$1,000	41.0	\$1,000-\$2,000	.28
\$1,001-\$2,000	35.0	\$2,001-\$3,000	3.1
\$2,001-\$3,000	12.0	\$3,001-\$4,000	53.1
\$3,001-\$4,000	3.0	\$4,001-\$5,000	24.4
\$4,001-\$5,000	1.0	\$5,001-\$6,000	4.2
\$5,001-\$6,000	.4	\$6,000 & over	12.2
\$6,000+	7.0		

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding or non-response.

The impact of wage mobility can also be measured in terms of the percentages of enrollees who reached the governmentally sanctioned minimum wage standard of \$1.60 per hour after training. Virtually all the enrollees who completed training and secured a job received wages at or above the minimum. Forty-seven percent earned between \$1.60 and \$1.89 and an additional 28 percent earned between \$1.90 and \$2.19. A much smaller percentage (19) earned between \$2.20 and \$3.09 per hour.

Table VII
HOURLY WAGE RATES FOR CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Hourly Wage	Percentage
Under \$1.30	1.4
\$1.30-\$1.59	2.5
\$1.60-\$1.89	47.3
\$1.90-\$2.19	28.3
\$2.20-\$2.49	4.2
\$2.50-\$2.79	2.5
\$2.80-\$3.09	3.6
\$3.10+	8.9

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Table VIII
INCOME BY AGE FOR CEP ENROLLEES BEFORE TRAINING

Income	Age				
	Under 19	19-21	22-44	45-54	55-64
0-\$1,000	57.7%	49.5%	25.9%	15.4%	14.3%
\$1,001-\$2,000	26.9	34.3	49.0	53.8	71.4
\$2,001-\$3,000	7.7	9.5	16.8	23.1	14.3
\$3,001-\$4,000	3.8	4.8	4.9	7.7	0.0
\$4,001-\$5,000	3.8	1.0	3.5	0.0	0.0
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Over \$6,000	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Median	\$900	\$1,000	\$1,500	\$1,600	\$1,500

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Tables VIII and IX present the relationship between age and income before and after training.

While overall annual salaries increased for both males and females, the males had slight advantages both before and after training. The median annual salary for males and females before training was \$1,400 and \$1,000 respectively. At the conclusion of training, median annual wages had increased to \$4,000 for males and \$3,600 for females. Table X presents these data by sex and income categories.

Table IX
INCOME CHANGES BY AGE FOR CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Income	Age				
	Under 19	19-21	22-44	45-54	55-64
0-\$1,000	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$2,001-\$3,000	6.9	3.4	2.5	0.0	0.0
\$3,001-\$4,000	62.1	58.1	47.2	80.0	87.5
\$4,001-\$5,000	17.2	28.2	25.5	20.0	12.5
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	2.6	7.5	0.0	0.0
Over \$6,000	13.8	7.7	17.4	0.0	0.0
Median	\$3,700	\$3,800	\$4,000	\$3,600	\$3,600

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Table X
INCOME BY SEX FOR CEP ENROLLEES BEFORE
AND AFTER TRAINING

Income	Before Training		After Training	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-\$1,000	31.3%	44.9%	0.0%	0.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	43.3	43.4	0.0	0.0
\$2,001-\$3,000	16.4	7.4	3.0	7.2
\$3,001-\$4,000	5.5	3.2	54.7	66.0
\$4,001-\$5,000	3.0	1.1	25.4	16.5
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	4.5	4.1
Over \$6,000	.5	0.0	12.4	6.2
Median	\$1,400	\$1,100	\$4,000	\$3,600

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

When income changes are analyzed by marital status, the most striking gains were made by those enrollees who were single, married, or divorced. From 69 to 86 percent of the enrollees in these categories moved from incomes below \$2,000 annually to incomes above \$3,000. Approximately 25 percent of each group had incomes between \$4,000 and \$5,000. By contrast, the widowed did less well. The bulk of the income gain for this group fell between \$3,000 and \$4,000. Only 14 percent had incomes after training between \$4,000 and \$5,000. However, the widowed exceeded the other categories in percentage with incomes over \$6,000.

Table XI
INCOME BY MARITAL STATUS FOR CEP
ENROLLEES BEFORE TRAINING

Income	Marital Status			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
0-\$1,000	48.6%	26.4%	50.0%	17.9%
\$1,001-\$2,000	37.3	42.5	16.7	64.1
\$2,001-\$3,000	8.5	20.8	16.7	12.8
\$3,001-\$4,000	3.5	6.6	16.7	12.8
\$4,001-\$5,000	1.4	3.8	0.0	2.6
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Over \$6,000	.7	0.0	0.0	0.0

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Table XII
INCOME CHANGES BY MARITAL STATUS FOR CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Income	Marital Status			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
0-\$1,000	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$2,001-\$3,000	3.1	3.3	0.0	2.4
\$3,001-\$4,000	55.6	52.1	71.4	58.5
\$4,001-\$5,000	24.4	25.6	14.3	26.8
\$5,001-\$6,000	3.7	5.0	0.0	7.3
Over \$6,000	13.1	14.0	14.3	4.9

Note: Percentages less than 100 due to rounding.

Wage mobility was also striking for those workers with the largest number of dependents. At time of entry, approximately 66 percent of those with four dependents had incomes of \$2,000 or less. After termination and placement on a job, all trainees in this category were earning annual incomes above \$3,000, 90 percent had incomes in excess of \$4,000, and a substantial 40 percent had incomes above \$6,000. Of all the factors influencing income mobility, the number of trainee dependents seems most decisive. While trainees with fewer than four dependents also evidenced income mobility, their gain was less dramatic. For instance, only 39 percent of those with one dependent had incomes

Table XIII
ANNUAL INCOME BY NUMBER OF TRAINEE
DEPENDENTS BEFORE TRAINING

Income	Number of Dependents			
	1	2	3	4
0-\$1,000	37.5%	30.0%	21.9%	22.2%
\$1,001-\$2,000	46.4	48.0	34.4	44.4
\$2,001-\$3,000	14.3	22.0	34.4	11.1
\$3,001-\$4,000	0.0	0.0	3.1	11.1
\$4,001-\$5,000	0.0	0.0	6.3	11.1
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Over \$6,000	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table XIV
ANNUAL INCOME BY NUMBER OF TRAINEE
DEPENDENTS AFTER TRAINING

Income	Number of Dependents			
	1	2	3	4
0-\$1,000	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$2,001-\$3,000	8.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$3,001-\$4,000	52.5	57.7	51.3	10.0
\$4,001-\$5,000	28.8	19.2	35.9	30.0
\$5,001-\$6,000	3.4	7.7	2.6	20.0
Over \$6,000	6.8	15.4	10.2	40.0

above \$4,000 at the end of training. Tables XIII and XIV present data by number of dependents for all income groups.

Analysis of the data also indicates that there was a strong correlation between education and income both before and after training. While income for all educated groups was largely concentrated in income categories below \$2,000 annually at time of entry, post-training earnings rose above \$3,000 for virtually all trainees. The most striking gains were made by those with superior education. While those with less than five years of schooling all had incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,000, approximately 47 percent of those with a high school education had incomes above \$4,000. Of those trainees with some post-high school education, approximately 21 percent had incomes above \$6,000 after

Table XV
INCOME BY EDUCATIONAL GROUP FOR CEP
ENROLLEES BEFORE TRAINING

Income	Educational Group					
	Below 5th Grade	5-7	8	9-11	12	12+
0-\$1,000	50.0%	11.8%	19.0%	37.2%	42.6%	40.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	50.0	76.5	42.9	38.1	41.6	42.5
\$2,001-\$3,000	0.0	5.9	28.6	17.7	6.9	12.5
\$3,001-\$4,000	0.0	5.9	4.8	4.4	5.0	5.0
\$4,001-\$5,000	0.0	0.0	4.8	1.8	4.0	0.0
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Over \$6,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	.9	0.0	0.0

Table XVI
INCOME BY EDUCATIONAL GROUP FOR CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Income	Educational Group					
	Below 5th Grade	5-7	8	9-11	12	12+
0-\$1,000	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
\$1,001-\$2,000	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$2,001-\$3,000	0.0	5.3	8.7	.8	3.4	4.7
\$3,001-\$4,000	100.0	78.9	52.2	58.1	48.7	51.2
\$4,001-\$5,000	0.0	15.8	17.4	25.8	31.1	18.6
\$5,001-\$6,000	0.0	0.0	13.0	3.2	5.0	4.7
Over \$6,000	0.0	0.0	8.7	12.1	11.8	20.9

training. Despite these shifts into higher income categories, it should be borne in mind that an average of 52.5 percent of those with educational attainments from eighth grade through post-high school still had incomes falling at the lower income range between \$3,000 and \$4,000, and almost 80 percent of those with less than a fifth grade education fell into this category. Tables XV and XVI present these data.

While income for black trainees increased perceptibly over pre-training levels,¹⁶ the income status of the group still lagged well behind average wage rates for the Metro City labor force as a whole. As Table XVII reveals, the average hourly earnings of Metro City production employees for November, 1970 was \$3.04, and was \$2.95 for the preceding twelve months. Only about 11 percent of the CEP trainees had

Table XVII
**AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS OF PRODUCTION WORKERS
 IN METRO CITY, DECEMBER 1969–NOVEMBER 1970**

Month	Average Hourly Wage
December (1969)	\$2.73
January	\$2.90
February	\$2.93
March	\$2.90
April	\$2.90
May	\$2.96
June	\$2.89
July	\$3.00
August	\$3.03
September	\$3.02
October	\$3.06
November	\$3.04

Source: Report of CEP Central Record Unit, December 1970 (Mimeo).

incomes as high or higher than the twelve month average. Moreover, only 37 percent of black males and 59 percent of black females reached the median income for all black workers in the South in 1969.¹⁷ Marshall and Christian indicate that wages in the black labor force tend to be closely associated with their disproportionate concentration in low wage and slow growth industries.¹⁸ In the next section we test this hypothesis for Metro City black manpower trainees by analyzing the relationship between job training and occupational mobility.

Occupational Status and Mobility

The analysis of income mobility among black CEP trainees in Metro City is consistent with national findings that black income roughly doubled between 1960 and 1970. Yet the gap between black and white income remained substantial, especially in the South where black median income is only 57 percent of that for whites.¹⁹ This is undoubtedly a function of a variety of factors, but Bergmann and Lyle, who studied the occupational status of blacks in 45 metropolitan areas and 67 industries, concluded that improvements in education (training) were less determinative of occupational mobility (and hence income mobility), then the incidence of racial discrimination and prejudice still latent in industry and the surrounding environment.²⁰ Focusing exclusively on selected Southern cities, Marshall and Christian noted the high incidence of underemployment (as defined by the relationship between

Table XVIII
THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Occupational Category	Percent
<i>White Collar</i>	
Professional and technical	5
Managers, proprietors and officials	2
Clerical	11
Sales	3
<i>Blue Collar</i>	
Skilled	16
Semi-skilled	0
Unskilled, non-farm	32
Unskilled, farm	1
<i>Service</i>	
Service skilled	3
Service semi-skilled	3
Service unskilled	24

training and occupation) among blacks and concluded that this was a reflection of the higher concentration of blacks in low wage and slow growth industries as well as the disproportionately low representation of blacks in the more lucrative faster growing industries.²¹ However, they contended that since 53 percent of the variance between black and white occupational status in the South is wiped out when controls for amount and quality of education are introduced, the upgrading of the skills of black workers is at least as important as continuing attacks on racial discrimination in employment. Without evaluating either prescription, it is possible to assess the relationship between occupational status and income mobility for black CEP trainees in Metro City.

For the purpose of determining the occupational status of enrollees after training, 11 occupational categories were established ranging from professional occupations on one end of a continuum to the unskilled on the other. Table XVIII stratifies the occupational standing of black CEP trainees according to this classification scheme.

As the foregoing table indicates, a large proportion (56 percent) of the enrollees were working in unskilled occupations after CEP training. This is attributable to the fact that many trainees did not secure jobs commensurate with their training and prior educational attainments. For instance, 49 percent of those who graduated from high school

Table XIX
EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Occupational Status	Education					
	-5	5-7	8	9-11	12	12+
Professional and Technical	0%	0%	4%	5%	4%	7%
Managers, Proprietors, officials	0	0	0	3	3	0
Clerical	0	0	0	5	16	21
Sales	0	0	0	2	4	5
Skilled (service and other)	0	10	21	15	21	22
Unskilled (Farm, non-farm service)	100	84	75	69	49	38
Semiskilled (service)	0	6	0	1	3	7

Table XX
INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CEP
ENROLLEES AFTER TRAINING

Occupational Status	Income					
	\$1001- \$2000	\$2001- \$3000	\$3001- \$4000	\$4001- \$5000	\$5001- \$6000	Over \$6000
Professional and Technical	0%	0%	1%	5%	7%	0%
Managers, proprietors and officials	100*	10	0	1	20	0
Clerical	0	30	10	19	0	0
Sales	0	0	1	4	7	0
Skilled (service and other)	0	10	9	13	7	77
Unskilled (farm, non-farm service)	0	30	75	58	59	23
Semiskilled (service)	0	20	4	0	0	0

* 1 case

occupied unskilled jobs after training as compared with 100 percent of those with less than a fifth grade education prior to training. This suggests that while the better educated have no guarantee of occupational mobility as a consequence of CEP training, the combination of training and high educational achievement facilitates mobility. Conversely, low educational achievement, even when combined with training also seems to act as a bar to occupational mobility.²² Table XIX presents the relationship between education and occupational status.

While those with the highest occupational status at termination tend to be the best educated, this advantage does not hold when occupational status is related to income. Larger percentages of the low occupational status groups were found in the higher income classifications. Of those who were classified as unskilled, 59 percent earned between \$5,000 and \$6,000 as compared with only 34 percent of the white collar workers. Similarly both skilled and unskilled workers fared better on incomes over \$6,000 than all categories of white collar workers.

Aside from the determination of occupational status at time of termination, it was also important to know how much occupational mobility had been achieved as a consequence of CEP training. For this purpose a rank order of occupations was developed with a numerical value of 1 assigned to the highest occupational status and 5 to the lowest as follows:

- 1— Professional and technical workers
- 2— Managers, proprietors, and officials
- 3— Clerical or skilled (foreman, craftsman or service)
- 4— Sales or semiskilled (operatives or service)
- 5— Unskilled laborers (farm, non-farm, or service)

Applying this rank order, 23 percent of all trainees were upwardly mobile, 55 percent were immobile, and 22 percent were downwardly mobile. While more females than males (29 and 22 percent respectively), were upwardly mobile, the female group had a higher percentage of downward mobiles (31 percent to 18 percent). Sixty percent and 41 percent of the male and female trainees respectively remained in the same occupation category as before training. Again, upward mobility was not closely associated with income. Immobiles were more than twice as likely to have incomes between \$4,000 and \$6,000 as the upwardly mobiles. Table XXI presents occupational mobility data by sex and post-training earnings.

Viewing the trainee population as a whole, occupational status and mobility were closely associated with prior educational achievement. Those who had at least some high school education were more likely to

Table XXI
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF CEP TRAINEES
BY SEX AND POST-TRAINING INCOME

Occupational Status	Sex		Income					
	Male	Female	\$1001- \$2000	\$2001- \$3000	\$3001- \$4000	\$4001- \$5000	\$5001- \$6000	Over \$6000
Mobile Up	22%	29%	0%	71%	26%	21%	11%	0%
Immobile	60%	41%	0%	14%	64%	48%	44%	60%
Mobile Down	18%	31%	100%	14%	10%	32%	44%	40%

* 1 case

Table XXII
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS
OF CEP TRAINEES

Mobility Status	-5	5-7	8	9-11	12	12+
Mobile Up	0%	1%	2%	10%	9%	1%
Immobile	1	7	4	23	13	7
Mobile Down	0	1	1	11	8	1

be upwardly mobile than those who did not. Twenty percent of the trainees who had some high school training were upwardly mobile as compared with only 3 percent of those who had between five and eight years of elementary schooling. However, the significance of this finding was diminished by the fact that the better educated trainees also recorded the highest percentage of those who were downwardly mobile (21 percent). Nonetheless, the findings are consistent with our earlier hypothesis that the combination of relatively high educational achievement and manpower training is closely (though not absolutely) associated with occupational mobility. Table XXII presents occupational mobility data controlling for years of education.

From the foregoing analysis it is apparent that income mobility was not closely associated with occupational mobility. While virtually all enrollees who were placed on a job after training achieved substantial

income mobility, this was not primarily a consequence of increases in occupational status and, indeed, where such changes occurred, they did not have an independent effect on wages. Rather, the increases in income were largely the result of more stable employment in unskilled occupations. Moreover, the income levels attained relative to the Metro City labor force in manufacturing were generally low suggesting that, while the CEP program significantly raised the income floor for black trainees, it did not bring it to the median income level for workers with similar occupational characteristics. Hence, it can be concluded that the preponderant effect of the program on black trainees in Metro City was to provide more stable employment in relatively low wage occupations. Future income mobility for these workers will depend on a variety of labor market and environmental factors²³ which cannot be assessed here. However, it seems apparent that the income levels of black workers cannot, for the most part, be raised to approximate local wage medians without more dramatic changes in occupational status within and between major occupational categories.²⁴ Nonetheless, the dramatic shift in income which did occur is not an insignificant accomplishment, even in the absence of pervasive occupational mobility.²⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹ See Austin Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), particularly chapters 1-7.

² See especially David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Knopf, 1951); and J. Leiper Freeman, *The Political Process: Executive Bureau-Legislative Committee Relations* (New York: Random House, 1965). For a notable exception to the traditional approach to the study of public policy see James Davis and Kenneth Dolbeare, *Little Groups of Neighbors* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968).

³ Joseph S. Wholey, *Federal Evaluation Policy* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1971).

⁴ Even somewhat earlier, with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, Congress recognized the need for federal manpower policy to develop programs of vocational education and training for industries to meet wartime production requirements.

⁵ Quoted in William Ebenstein, et al., *American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 578.

⁶ 1970 data indicate that the overall unemployment rate for blacks and whites respectively as 8.2 and 4.5. *Black Americans: A Chartbook* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1971), p. 20.

⁷ Herbert S. Parnes, Robert C. Muljus, Ruth S. Spitz, *Career Thresholds: A Longitudinal Study of the Education and Labor Market Experience of Male Youth* (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University, 1969), pp. 189-190.

⁸ *Manpower Report of the President* (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1970), p. 90.

⁹ For a more comprehensive description of the CEP program, see *Manpower Report of the President* (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1968), pp. 195-96.

¹⁰ David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).

¹¹ See James S. Coleman, "Race Relations and Social Change" in Gurin and Katz, *Race and the Social Sciences* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 274-341.

¹² In the larger study, the complete list of variables to be measured is as follows:

<u>Personal Impact Variables</u>	<u>Social Impact Variables</u>
Income Status	Employment
Occupational Status	Earnings
Skills Development	GNP
("potential productive capacity")	Expenditures
Labor Force Participation	Revenue
	Political Support (efficacy, alienation, and satisfaction).

¹³ The poverty line was generally defined as \$3,400 for a family of four with proportionate increases or decreases based on actual family size.

¹⁴ National data indicated that only about 18 percent of the black poor received public welfare, and most of these were young children and the aged. See *Black Americans: A Chartbook* (Washington: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1969), p. 56.

¹⁵ One hundred and thirty additional enrollees completed training but were not immediately placed in a job.

¹⁶ The findings presented here on income mobility are consistent with other manpower studies. See especially Earl D. Main, "A Nationwide Evaluation of Institutional Job Training," *Journal of Human Resources*, III (1968), pp. 164-66; and Gerald G. Somers (ed.), *Retraining the Unemployed* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Roberta McKay, "Job Training Programs in Urban Poverty Areas," *Monthly Labor Review*, 94 (August, 1971) 8, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷ The median annual income for black males was \$4,655 and \$3,536 for black females.

¹⁸ F. Ray Marshall and Virgil Christian, *Human Resources Development in the South* (Austin: Center for the Study of Human Resource Development, 1970), p. 18.

¹⁹ See *The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents), p. 27. The most favorable ratio of black to white income was in the North-central region where black income was 73 percent of white income.

²⁰ Barbara R. Bergmann and Jeralyn R. Lyle, "The Occupational Standing of Negroes by Areas and Industries," *The Journal of Human Resources*, VI (Fall, 1971), 4, pp. 411-33. Using an 18 factor regression analysis, the authors found that the percent of the Wallace vote in 1968 was most strongly correlated with the low occupational standing of blacks. For similar findings see Walter

Fogel, "The Effects of Low Educational Attainment and Discrimination on the Occupational Status of Minorities," *The Education and Training of Racial Minorities* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, 1968), pp. 123-146.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19, 24-30.

²² This conclusion should be accepted with some caution at this stage in the author's research since the "N" in the cell for the poorly educated was relatively small.

²³ In another study currently in progress the author is conducting a regression analysis to determine the extent to which racial discrimination in employment has an effect on occupational and income status.

²⁴ It should be cautioned, however, that occupational mobility alone will not guarantee income mobility. Much of the occupational mobility which occurred among CEP enrollees seemed to be in relatively low wage occupations. For instance, many of the upwardly mobile women in the project moved from unskilled domestics to low paying clerical, sales, or practical nursing occupations.

²⁵ An important factor in measuring the impact of CEP is the extent to which the placement of CEP enrollees on jobs resulted in an overall increase in levels of employment among blacks in Metro City generally, or whether the net effect of CEP placements was merely to displace other blacks aspiring to the same jobs. While such an analysis goes well beyond the intent of this paper, the author is currently developing a data base for the analysis of this aspect of manpower policy impact for Metro City and three other cities as part of an overall analysis of the effects of social impact variables on community change.